

Message Text

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11

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FM USMISSION USBERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1223

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION TWO OF TWO USBERLIN 1482

4. MAJOR EFFORT THAT ALLIES AND FRG HAVE MADE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT QUADRIpartite RIGHTS REMAIN UNDISTURBED AND THAT THEY EXPECT BERLIN TO BENEFIT FROM CSCE IMPROVEMENTS IN ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN AREAS IN REASSURING TO BERLINERS UP TO POINT. BASIC FACT OF LIFE IN CITY, HOWEVER, IS THAT ITS RESIDENTS REMAIN ON BASIS OF THEIR EXPERIENCES SKEPTICAL OF SOVIET MOTIVES AND PROMISES. ONCE FIRST FLUSH OF HELSINKI SUMMIT HAS PASSED, WE CAN EXPECT THAT EVERY ASPECT OF BERLIN LIFE WILL BE EXAMINED CAREFULLY TO DETERMINE WHAT CHANGES CSCE HAS REALLY WROUGHT. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT BERLIN SIX MONTHS AFTER HELSINKI SUMMIT WILL BE VERY DIFFERENT FROM BERLIN SIX MONTHS BEFORE. ALLIED-SOVIET DISPUTES ON STATUS AND TIES TO FRG, THOUGH MUCH REDUCED IN SHARPNESS FROM PRE-QA DAYS, WILL STILL BE THERE. WALL WILL STILL BE THERE ALSO. BERLINERS ALREADY BENEFIT THROUGH QA AND INNER-GERMAN ARRANGEMENTS IN MORE CONCRETE WAY IN REGARD TO AT LEAST CERTAIN ASPECTS OF HUMAN CONTACTS THAT CSCE
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DOCUMENTS CAN PROVIDE. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT GDR WILL BE MUCH MORE FORTHCOMING IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE SO LONG AS IT THINKS IT NEEDS TO PROTECT ITS SOCIETY FROM BEING UNDERMINED BY ATTRACTIONS OF FRG AND WEST BERLIN. WARSAW

PACT NATIONS WILL NO DOUBT WELCOME TRADE WITH WEST BERLIN FIRMS, BUT WE DOUBT THAT THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO DROP OBJECTIONS TO BERLIN-EC RELATIONSHIP OR TO FOREGO THEIR EFFORTS TO CARRY ON TRADE WITH WEST BERLIN INDEPENDENT OF SUCH ACTIVITIES WITH FRG OR BE WILLING REROUTINELY TO ACCEPT BERLIN'S INCLUSION IN AGREEMENTS WITH FRG ON TRADE, TECHNIAL OR SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. WE WOULD EXPECT WARSAW PACT STATES TO ADHERE TO THEIR PLEDGE NOT TO COOPERATE WITH FEDERAL ENVIRONMENT OFFICE IN BERLIN, DESPITE BASKET TWO LANGUAGE ON COOPERATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS.

5. IN SHORT, IT SEEMS REALISTIC TO US TO EXPECT MORE OF SAME IN BERLIN IN IMMEDIATE POST-CSCE PERIOD, THAT CONFERENCE NOT HAVING CHANGED OR HAVING SOUGHT TO CHANGE BASIC ELEMENTS OF BERLIN PROBLEM. THIS WILL CAUSE CERTAIN AMOUNT OF DISILLUSIONMENT HERE. (EVEN VERY CONSIDERABLE HUMAN IMPROVEMENTS BROUGHT ABOUT BY QA WERE QUICKLY ACCEPTED AS NATURAL BY CYNICAL, MORDANT BERLINERS, NOT TO MENTION SPRINGER PRESS AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION, WHO WENT ON TO FOCUS ON DIFFICULTIES OF IMPLEMENTATION RATHER THAN SIMPLY PRAISE PROGRESS.) BECAUSE BERLIN PROBLEMS ARE SO CLOSELY RELATED TO UNRESOLVED NATIONAL QUESTION AND BECAUSE THEY HAVE SO MUCH POLITICAL SEX APPEAL, WE WOULD EXPECT ALSO THAT THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE TEMPTATION FOR NATIONAL AS WELL AS LOCAL POLITICAL LEADERS TO HIGHLIGHT CONTINUING BERLIN DIFFICULTIES WHEN THEY DRAW UP BALANCE SHEET ON CSCE. WE OFFER NO MAGIC FORMULAE TO GUARD AGAINST THIS. AS UNDRAMATIC AS IT SOUNDS, BEST PRESCRIPTION FOR DEALING WITH THIS RECURRENT CARPING, PARTICULARLY FROM OPPOSITION POLITICAL LEADERS, AND MINI-CRISES OF CONFIDENCE OVER BERLIN'S FUTURE IS PERSEVERANCE IN WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING, INCLUDING FREQUENT STATEMENTS OF REASSURANCE, OCCASIONAL HIGH-LEVEL VISITS, AND CLEAR MESSAGES TO SOVIETS AND GDR AT APPROPRIATE TIMES THAT FIRM ADHERENCE TO QA AND EQUAL SHARE OF BERLIN IN BENEFITS OF DETENTE REMAIN AS ESSENTIAL AS EVER IF CSCE
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IS TO HAVE LASTING MEANING. GEORGE

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